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HELPS FOR STUDENTS OF HISTORY. No. 19

EDITED BY C. JOHNSON, M.A., AND J. P. WHITNEY, D.D., D.C.L.

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE HISTORY OF AMERICAN DIPLOMACY

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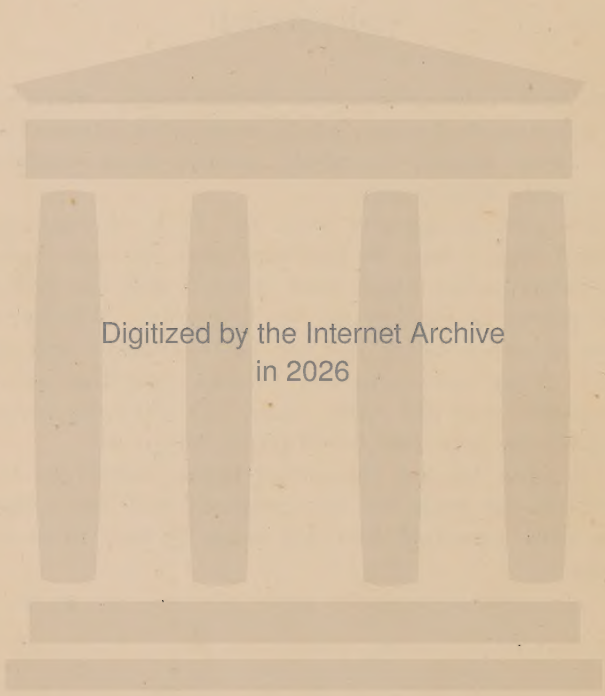
FOREWORD

THIS book is intended to guide British readers interested in American diplomacy, and to serve as an introduction for those wishing to study it—not as a complete analysis or bibliography.

The plan is apparent from the Table of Contents, except that it may be explained that, to save space, books and series which treat of more than one period are placed in the list for the first only. Whether a plan is successful or not can be determined only by use. That here employed would doubtless prove cumbrous were the scale larger, but some experience justifies the hope that it will prove convenient.

Apologies are due for certain lapses, caused by the fact that the guide has been prepared while the author has been separated from his notes by four thousand miles.

C. R. F.



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HISTORY OF AMERICAN DIPLOMACY

Section I.—PRE-REVOLUTIONARY DIPLOMACY

Introduction

The diplomacy of the United States cannot be understood without some knowledge of that which preceded the establishment of an independent governing body in America. There are in this period three main lines of interest. First, the general rivalry between European Powers, which did much to determine the character of settlement, and which continued to be a leading factor in American foreign relations until 1823, and to be of some importance until after the Civil War. Second, the establishment of boundary lines and claims, many of which actually determined the racial and linguistic division of the continents, and nearly all of which recur constantly in diplomatic discussions to the present day. Third, the experience which the Americans had received as colonists in dealing with the relations of communities, and their ideas on matters which, with independence, became international.

Materials for Study and Reading

1. *European Rivalry.*—The period from the middle of the fifteenth century to the American Revolution is

replete with subjects that can be profitably studied from the point of view of their relation to America. As the subject of this pamphlet, however, is the diplomacy of the United States, and not diplomacy relating to the territory now constituting the United States, it is treated here merely as introductory. J. R. Seeley, *The Expansion of England*, London, 1895, remains probably the most suggestive short account.

2. *American Boundaries.*—The subject of American boundaries is very precise, and very important. For the beginning, see H. Harisse, *The Diplomatic History of America, its First Chapter, 1452-1494*, London, 1897. The Carnegie Institution of Washington has published a *Collection of European Treaties bearing on the Early History of the United States*, edited by F. G. Davenport, and has in preparation an *Atlas*, which will exhibit ascertained conclusions. The best collections of material are often found in the later diplomatic correspondence, and some historical studies treating of this period will be referred to later as different disputes become live diplomatic problems.

3. *American Diplomatic Experience.*—To build up a record of the diplomatic experience of the Americans of 1776 leads afar. The relations of colony with colony were largely uncontrolled and were relations of equals, as were often those between the colonists and the Indian tribes. Those between Great Britain and the colonies often involved questions such as make up the substance of diplomacy, while the colonial agents in London pursued semi-diplomatic methods, Benjamin Franklin being really, from 1758 to 1774, representative there for all the colonies, and thus receiving the schooling for his subsequent work in France. The judicial settlement of many such questions by the English

Privy Council prepared Americans to look favourably upon international arbitration, while their opposition to the Navigation Laws perhaps persists in their diplomatic insistence on the freedom of the seas.

There are many profitable fields to be developed here, but as the diplomatic material is not differentiated it would lead to a vast disproportion to describe it. The calendars of *British State Papers, Colonial*, with their expected continuations, and the papers to which they refer, and the papers described in C. M. Andrews, *Guide to the Materials for American History to 1783, in the Public Record Office of Great Britain*, Washington, 1912, 1914, and in C. M. Andrews and F. G. Davenport, *Guide to the Manuscript Materials for the History of the United States to 1783, in the British Museum, etc.*, Washington, 1908, published by the Carnegie Institution of Washington, contain much pertinent material as yet unused, as do the records of the colonies which are briefly described in R. R. Bowker, *State Publications*, N.Y., 1899-1908, and in the publications of the historical societies of the older states, for which see Sec. II., para. 4.

Section II.—REVOLUTION AND CONFEDERATION, 1760 TO 1789

Introduction

The centre of interest for American diplomatic history during this period remains in Europe, but shifts from London to Paris. In one of the remarkable predictions of history, Choiseul, in 1773, consoled France for the loss of Canada by saying that it meant, through the withdrawal of the threat of French attack, the loss of her American colonies by England. Each step leading to the Revolution was watched by European Courts with the interest of men who knew that a conflagration anywhere within their international system might embroil them all. To France it brought the chance of displacing England as the chief Power in the system, and to many Frenchmen the hope of re-establishing the French colonial empire. Into this prepared position, American diplomatists stepped, securing in 1775, while still colonists, aid and comfort. Declaring independence in 1776, they obtained in 1778 alliance with France, in treaties which secured that independence but which subsequently became "entangling." Spain entered the war in 1779, and Holland in 1780, but hostilities did not become so general as many feared and some hoped. The United States made a commercial treaty with Holland, but important differences kept her apart from her other

associate, Spain. In 1782 England was ready to acknowledge American independence, but the negotiations on the part of her opponents were very difficult, owing to their differing relationships and interests. A combination between two American commissioners, who distrusted France, and Lord Shelburne, Prime Minister of England, who wished by generous terms to win the friendship of the Americans, resulted in a treaty of peace in 1783 very favourable to the latter.

Lord Shelburne was overthrown and his policy reversed, with resulting difficulties regarding the interpretation of the treaty, and in trade and Indian affairs. Vergennes, the French Foreign Minister, abandoned, at least for the time, French dreams of colonial empire in America, but sought to consolidate French influence over a free but dependent United States. The latter, intent upon extrication from European politics, found themselves too weak to stand by themselves and to secure what they believed to be their rights. This situation was one of the moving considerations in the adoption in 1789 of a new constitution, framed to unite more effectually the strength of all the American states.

Materials for Study and Reading

Printed Material

1. *Bibliographies.*—For bibliography covering the whole field one may use A. B. Hart, *Foundations of American Foreign Policy*, New York, 1905, pp. 241-293; and Channing, Hart, and Turner, *Guide to the Study of American History*, Boston, 1912, which has special sections on diplomacy to 1912. Note also *Writings on American History*, which has been published under various auspices for about a dozen years, and is now in

the hands of the Yale University Press, New Haven, Conn.

2. *American Government Documents.*—All United States' *Treaties, Conventions, and International Agreements*, to 1913, are published by the Government in three volumes, Washington, 1904, 1913. Indian treaties, which often contain material of importance to diplomatic history, are published in *Indian Affairs, Laws and Treaties*, Washington, 1903. Executive acts, 1775 to 1788, are published in the *Journals* and the *Secret Journals* of Congress; the latter contain diplomatic memorials and correspondence; the best edition is W. C. Ford, *Journals of the Continental Congress, 1774-1789*, Washington, 1904. *The Diplomatic Correspondence of the American Revolution*, edited by J. Sparks, Washington, 1837, is not reliable in text. The *Revolutionary Diplomatic Correspondence of the United States*, edited by F. Wharton, Washington, 1889, contains a valuable introduction and notes. The Confederation is dealt with in *Diplomatic Correspondence of the United States from 1783-1789*, Washington, 1837.

3. *State Documents.*—State documents of this period occasionally have diplomatic significance; a list of state publications is given in Bowker, *State Publications*, N.Y., 1899-1908.

4. *Foreign Government Documents.*—No attempt is made to list the general official documents of foreign nations, though bearing on American diplomacy. The following collections were specially published, because of their relation to that subject: H. Doniol, *Histoire de la Participation de la France à l'Etablissement des Etats-Unis d'Amérique*, Paris, 1886-1892; C. R. Fish, *Documents relative to the Adjustment of the Roman*

Catholic Organization in the United States to the Conditions of National Independence, 1783-1789, *Am. Hist. Review*, XV., 800-829; F. J. Turner, *English Policy towards America, 1790-1791*, *ibid.*, VIII., 78-86. The following are of importance for commercial relations: *Letters*, of P. Bond, Am. Hist. Assoc. *Report*, 1896,I., 513-659; to which may be added, though not official correspondence, *Letters to Sir John Temple*, from the Marquis of Buckingham, Mass. Hist. Soc. *Proc.*, 1866, 69-80, and the *Letters* of Stephen Higginson, Am. Hist. Assoc. *Report*, 1896, I., 711-841. Other such collections are to be found in the reports, proceedings, or journals of the state historical societies of the older states, and of Wisconsin, for the finding of which a clue is afforded by A. P. C. Griffin, *Bibliography of American Historical Societies*, in the *Report* of the Am. Hist. Assoc., 1905. See also F. G. Davenport, *Materials for English Diplomatic History*, 1509-1783, 18th *Report*, Hist. MSS. Comm. (Gt. B.).

5. *Personal Material—American.*—Many documents really official, together with papers necessary for a full understanding of the situation, are published in the works, writings, or lives of individuals. The most important are the *Works* of B. Franklin, the best edition being that edited by J. Bigelow, N.Y., 1887-1888; the *Works* of G. Washington, the best edition being that edited by W. C. Ford, N.Y., 1889-1893; the *Works* of J. Adams, Boston, 1850-1856; the *Correspondence and Public Papers* of J. Jay, N.Y., 1890-1893. Of great interest also are the *Papers* of S. Deane, N.Y., Hist. Soc. *Collections*, 1886-1890, the *Life* of A. Lee, Boston, 1829, the *Letters* of R. H. Lee, N.Y., 1911, the *Letters* of W. Lee, Brooklyn, 1891, and the *Correspondence* of R. Izard, N.Y., 1844.

6. *Foreign.*—No attempt can be made to give the works of, and on, European public men which have a bearing on American diplomacy; but attention should be called to Lord Fitzmaurice's *Life of William, Earl of Shelburne*, London, 1912; C. Towers, *The Marquis of La Fayette*, Philadelphia, 1895; and to C. J. Stillé, *Beaumarchais and the Lost Million*, Philadelphia, 1886.

7. *Histories — General.*—Of histories, C. R. Fish, *American Diplomacy*, N.Y., 1919, covers the period 1492 to 1917; J. W. Foster, *A Century of American Diplomacy*, Boston, 1901, covers 1776 to 1876; C. O. Paullin, *Diplomatic Negotiations of American Naval Officers, 1778-1883*, Baltimore, 1900, deals with a very interesting phase of diplomacy.

8. *Period.* — J. Winsor, *Narrative and Critical History of America*, Boston, 1884-1889, Vol. VII., covers this period in chapters written by different individuals, and which are mostly out of date, but which contain many valuable notes and references. All general histories of the United States treat of the diplomacy 1775 to 1783 very fully; special mention should be made of G. O. Trevelyan, *American Revolution*, London, 1905, and C. van Tyne, *The American Revolution*, in the *American Nation Series*, N.Y., 1905.

9. *Special—France.*—The fullest recent account of relations with France is, J. B. Perkins, *France in the American Revolution*, Boston, 1911; E. E. Hale and E. E. Hale, jun., *Franklin in France*, Boston, 1887-1888, contains much material; and A. T. Mahan, *The Influence of Sea Power upon History, 1660-1783*, Boston, 1890, shows the importance of the French alliance.

10. *Holland and Northern Powers.*—For Dutch relations, J. F. Jameson, *Saint Eustatius in the American*

Revolution, Am. Hist. Review, VIII., 683-708, is interesting, while H. W. van Loon's *Fall of the Dutch Republic*, London, 1913, gives a background, and P. Fauchille, *La Diplomatie Française et la Ligue les Neutres de 1780*, Paris, 1893, gives a view of the whole Continental situation.

11. *Mississippi Valley.*—J. J. Cox, *The Indian as a Diplomatic Factor in the History of the Old North-West, Ohio Arch. and Hist. Quarterly*, XVIII., 542-565; C. Gayarré, *History of Louisiana*, N.O., 1885; T. M. Green, *Spanish Conspiracy*, Cincinnati, 1891; B. A. Hinsdale, *Old North-West*, N.Y., 1888; A. C. McLaughlin, *The Western Posts and the British Debts*, Am. Hist. Assoc. *Report*, 1894; T. Roosevelt, *Winning of the West*, N.Y., 1889-1896; J. Winsor, *Westward Movement*, Boston, 1897—all treat of the struggle for the Mississippi Valley and the diplomacy that was its outcome.

12. *Articles.*—In addition to those referred to are many articles in the publications of historical societies, for which see Griffin, *Bibliography*, mentioned Sec. II., para. 4.

Archives and Manuscript Material

13. *Carnegie Institution.*—The Carnegie Institution of Washington is making a systematic survey of the manuscript material for the study of American history. Its reports often appear in the form of a preliminary description of the material with an estimate of its value, which is followed later by a more elaborate list of documents, such that the scholar may use it as a finding list and for the procuring of copies from a distance.

14. *American Archives.*—For the archives of the United States Government there is a *Report on the*

Diplomatic Archives of the Department of State, by A. C. McLaughlin, Washington, 1906, and a *Guide to the Archives of the Government of the United States in Washington*, second edition, Washington, 1908, by C. H. van Tyne and W. G. Leland. The archives of the states contain some things of diplomatic interest, descriptions existing in the successive reports of the Public Archives Commission in the *Reports* of the American Historical Association, 1900, in progress.

15. *American Societies.*—Various American libraries contain a great deal of important manuscript material, particularly collections made by prominent individuals. The most important libraries containing material for this period, as well as for later periods, arranged in geographical order, are: The Essex Institute, Salem, Mass.; the Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston; the New York Historical Society and New York Public Library; the Pennsylvania Historical Society and Philadelphia Philosophical Society, at Philadelphia; the Library of Congress at Washington, which has become the most important of all; and the Wisconsin Historical Society, at Madison, Wisconsin. All these societies are engaged in the publication or calendaring of their material, and references to much of what they have done are found in Griffin, *Bibliography*, referred to in Sec. II., para. 4. The notes in J. Winsor, *Narrative and Critical History of America*, Boston, 1884-1889, though out of date because not complete, still have value.

16. *Adams Collection.*—Perhaps the most important of all manuscript collections in America for diplomacy is the Adams Collection at Braintree, which is a family collection, but this is the only such collection in America at all comparable with the great family collec-

tions in Europe. Publications from it will be referred to from time to time. Private collections made by collectors exist, but they tend to drift into public use. Such is the Burton Collection at Detroit.

17. *Foreign Archives and MSS. Collections.*—It is the aim of the Carnegie Institution in its guides relating to foreign countries to deal not only with archives, but with other collections as well. The *Guide to the Material in London Archives for the History of the United States since 1783*, by C. O. Paullin and F. L. Paxson, Washington, 1914, reveals stores demanding the historian's attention. The guide for Paris is not yet published, but is near completion; the most important French diplomatic material for this period has been published, but much remains, while for the periods before and after, history will have to be largely rewritten when it appears. The *Guide to the Materials for the History of the United States in Spanish Archives*, by W. R. Shephard, is important, as Spanish archives have been too little used. L. N. Perez, *Guide to the Materials for American History in Cuban Archives*, becomes more important later, but is never without interest. The *Guide to Materials in Russian Archives*, by C. A. Golder, contains material in connection with the Armed Neutrality, and with Russian activity on the North-West Coast. Holland was an important factor, and the guide to Dutch archives opens much unused material. The Italian states were spectators, but their ambassadors still possessed the talent for diplomatic analysis which makes the Venetian Relations so important, and their reports are referred to in the *Guide to Material for American History in Roman and other Italian Archives*, by C. R. Fish, Washington, 1910. The greater part of the materials treated in the

guides to German, Swiss, and Austrian collections, relate rather to migration than to diplomacy.

Naturally the calendars and other publications of foreign Governments refer to much American material, as, for instance, the *Reports* of the British Historical Manuscript Commission, but no attempt is here made to deal with these collections, the aim being to point out distinctly American material, presupposing a knowledge of or looking to the acquisition of a knowledge of the collections of other countries, if the student is to deal intensively with the relations of the United States and other particular nations.

Section III.—AMERICAN POLICY, 1789 TO 1829

Introduction

The new American Government first confronted the problem of world politics when the Nootka Sound affair in 1790 threatened the peace of Europe. Peace was maintained, but not before the American Cabinet had decided that in such a conflict abstention was their proper policy. This remained their policy when in 1793 the whirlwind of the French Revolution broke. To maintain it was a task for the ablest statesmanship. The Revolution began as an international party movement of democracy, and for some years a majority of Americans sympathized with, and many wished to aid it. A party, always a minority, but lasting longer, was actively pro-British. With France, the nation was joined by inconvenient treaties; from England, it was separated by an unfulfilled treaty and the dangers of propinquity.

The first crisis came when in 1793 the French sent Genêt to rush the United States into unneutral cooperation. Washington received him, thus establishing a precedent for the recognition of *de facto* Governments, acknowledged the inconvenient treaties with France, thus basing American policy on good faith, but issued a neutrality proclamation, setting forth a new and higher conception of the duties of a neutral nation. After a struggle, American sentiment supported Washington. In 1794 a new crisis arose through the conduct of the British fleet toward the American

merchant marine. Threatened war was averted by the Jay Treaty, which was unsatisfactory in many ways, but nevertheless cleared up many problems, and made the preservation of peace possible. Europe, still regarding the United States as within its system, considered this treaty as an indication of intention to join Great Britain. One result was that Spain timidly assented in 1795 to a treaty favourable to America. Another was that France revived her schemes for a colonial empire including the Mississippi Valley. This French ambition led to a new crisis in 1798, which culminated in a state of "armed neutrality," involving war at sea, which a certain group of American leaders wished to turn to full war. This result was prevented by the President, John Adams, who as early as 1782 had expressed his determination that America should cease to be "the football of Europe," and who in 1800 secured an agreement which incidentally did away with the "entangling" French treaties.

A fourth crisis came when Napoleon sought in 1802, with peace in Europe and with the new strength of France, to realize her old colonial dreams. The delicate adjustment of European affairs once more failed, and the prospect of war once more profited the United States by inducing Napoleon to sell her Louisiana in 1803. The friendly relations thus established were augmented by the fact that Napoleon's continental system harmonized with the system of commercial boycott which Jefferson thought to substitute for war as a means of defending American rights at sea. This latter system, tried between 1806 and 1811 in the forms of "non-importation," "embargo," "non-intercourse," and a preferential threat, would probably not have resulted in war with Great Britain in 1812 had it not

been for purely American difficulties with regard to Indians, fur trade, and rival territorial ambitions, which caused the American West to give a solid vote for war, turning the balance between the evenly divided coast states.

Though not allied with Napoleon, the United States nevertheless was seriously threatened by his overthrow. She was saved, not by the brilliant record of her frigates, though that caused her to be respected for generations as a potential maritime power, for the navy was swept from the seas; nor by the victory at New Orleans, though that made Andrew Jackson a dozen years dictator of American politics, for that was fought after peace had been concluded,—but by the skilful valour of the men of the navy, who created a new naval power on the Great Lakes, and by the wisdom of her diplomats at Ghent. That treaty merely returned to the *status quo ante*, but the simultaneous final overthrow of Napoleon caused the problem of neutrality to vanish, the events of the war finally eliminated the Indians and the land fur trade from international politics, while a series of agreements between 1815 and 1818 placed the relations of the United States and Great Britain upon a satisfactory basis.

The purpose of the United States of separating herself from the chances of European diplomacy seemed almost attained, when the wave of revolution, which swept away European rule in Latin America between 1815 and 1823, again threatened it. The Holy Alliance, supported by the less holy but more powerful Quadruple Alliance, aimed to preserve peace by maintaining the *status quo* of 1815. Suppressing successive rebellions in Europe, it contemplated restoring divine right in Latin America; the real police, France and Russia, not

Spain, would reap the power, and the United States would again be threatened by strong, ambitious, monarchical neighbours. Great Britain equally opposed this consummation, and Canning proposed an Anglo-American *entente* to prevent it. His purpose was to restore the system of balance by throwing the New World into the scale. This latter proposal was almost as obnoxious to the dominant American purpose as the first, for it would involve the United States in every quiver of the European balance. The result was the message of 1823, the work of John Quincy Adams, although the utterance of Monroe. This was a renewed statement of the right of self-determination of peoples, even by revolution, and of non-intervention in the affairs of peoples as a practical policy. It stated that the American continents were divided from Europe by institutions as well as by the ocean, that the safety of the United States demanded that European institutions should not be expanded in America, and that the United States should not meddle in the affairs of Europe. Actually it was the British fleet that frustrated the designs of the Allies in Latin America, but Canning failed to draw in the United States to redress the balance in the Old World. That balance did, however, ultimately establish itself, and the United States, joined to neither side, was able to disregard balanced Europe in American affairs, and actually achieved for nearly a century that independence of the accidents of European politics which she had long desired.

Materials for Study and Reading

Printed Material

1. *United States Government Documents.* — With the organization of the now existing Government of the

United States in 1789, regular series of documents begin, which run to the present day. The first in order is that of the messages of the Presidents, which bring foreign matters to the attention of Congress. The most convenient place to obtain these is in their collected form, J. D. Richardson's *Messages and Papers of the Presidents*, ten volumes to 1899, with continuations. The next in official standing is the *Journal of the Executive Proceedings of the Senate*. The Senate, when considering treaties and appointments, executive matters, sits with closed doors, and its proceedings are published only at its pleasure. This journal has now been published in several instalments to 1901, and a small number of copies of later sessions have been put forth. The Senate Committee on Foreign Affairs is an important body; its *Reports* are collectively published to 1901, Washington, 1901. The debates in Congress on foreign affairs are to be found in the regular series of debates, which has from time to time been denominated: *Annals of Congress*, 1789-1824, Washington, 1834-1856; *Congressional Debates*, 1825-1837, currently published; *Congressional Globe*, 1833-1873, currently published; and *Congressional Record*, 1873, currently published. Naturally the Senate debates in executive session are published only by its consent, and in cases where they are made public it is apt to be out of chronological order; and there is no special method of finding them, except by the use of the various collections of indexes, which are referred to in Channing, Hart, and Turner's *Guide*, pp. 35-37. The diplomatic correspondence for the period 1780 to 1828, in so far as it was submitted to Congress, is most conveniently found in *American State Papers, Foreign Relations*, Washington, 1832-1859. The third department of

Government, the Judiciary, has not, of course, been without its influence on foreign relations, such matters as the legal immunity of the several states, the prohibition of export taxes and of favours to special ports, of the relative legal standing of treaties, state laws, national laws, and international law, and many other points giving rise to frequent cases. These, however, came before the court only as they arose, the first Chief Justice, John Jay, having properly refused to advise the Executive or Legislature previous to action. They are, therefore, found embedded in the mass of court records, to which there are fortunately as good collective indexes and guides as anywhere exist. See Channing, etc., *Guide*, p. 156.

2.—Certain collections of public documents have been privately published, such as consular papers relating to the West Indies in the *Am. Hist. Review*, XVI., 64-101, etc.

3. *Foreign Government Documents.*—Of foreign documents, in addition to the regular series, some of those specially interesting to the United States have been brought out, as: *Correspondence of the French Ministers to the United States, 1795-1797*, Am. Hist. Assoc. *Report*, 1893, Vol. II.; *Correspondence of Clark and Genêt, ibid.*, 1896, I., 930-1107; *Mangourit Correspondence, ibid.*, 1897, 569-679; *English Policy toward America in 1790-1791*, *Am. Hist. Review*, VII., 706-735; *Correspondence of the Russian Ministers in Washington, 1818-1825*, *Am. Hist. Review*, XVIII., 309-345, 537-562.

4. *Personal Material: Adams Family, Jefferson.*—The personal material for this period is of very great importance. First stands that relating to the Adams family. The most important publications are the *Life*

and Writings of John Adams, Boston, 1850-1856; the *Memoirs* of John Quincy Adams, Philadelphia, 1874-1877; and the latter's *Writings*, N.Y., 1913, in progress. Thomas Jefferson was a significant figure until his death in 1826; his *Writings* have been published, N.Y., 1893-1899, and his *Papers*, by the Mass. Hist. Soc. *Collections*, 1900.

5. *First Years.*—For the first part of the period, the following are useful: *Writings*, N.Y., 1889, of George Washington; *Works*, N.Y., 1885-1886, of Alexander Hamilton; G. Gibbs, *Memoirs of the Administrations of Washington and John Adams*, N.Y., 1846; *Correspondence*, N.Y., 1890-1893, of John Jay; *Works*, Boston, 1854, of Fisher Ames, leader of the Federalists in the House; *Life and Times*, N.Y., 1917, of David Humphreys, an observant Minister to Spain.

6. *Whole Period.*—The *Writings*, N.Y., 1900-1910, of James Madison, Republican leader of the House, eight years Secretary of State, eight years President, and oracle; the *Writings*, N.Y., 1898-1903, of James Monroe, Minister to France, six years Secretary of State, and eight years President; the *Writings*, Philadelphia, 1879, of Albert Gallatin, vigorous opponent of the Federalists, adviser of Jefferson, conciliator at Ghent, Minister to France and to England; the *Life and Correspondence*, N.Y., 1894-1900, of Rufus King, strong Federalist, Senator and twice Minister to England; the *Life*, Boston, 1867-1873, of Timothy Pickering, vituperative Federalist, Secretary of State, and Senator; and the letters of the firebrand, Francisco de Miranda, embedded in the Am. Hist. Assoc. *Report*, 1907, 189-559—all cover most of the period.

7. *Middle Years.*—For the middle portion, the most important collection is the *Life and Letters*, Boston,

1877, of George Cabot, who succeeded Hamilton as "King of the Feds.," and in connection with which the *Life*, Boston, 1867, of Josiah Quincy, who led the Federalists in the House, should be used. For Henry Clay, who was probably responsible for the War of 1812, there is very little good diplomatic material, but some diplomatic letters are published in the *Am. Hist. Review*, XX., 108-129.

8. *Ghent and Later.*—For the men who helped Gellatin, Adams, and Clay make the Treaty of Ghent, there exist the *Papers* of James A. Bayard, published in Am. Hist. Assoc., *Report*, 1913, Vol. II., while Updike used the Jonathan Russell papers in his *Treaty of Ghent*, Baltimore, 1915. The papers of W. H. Crawford, who plays an important part between 1811 and 1824, will be edited for the American Historical Association by U. B. Phillips. *The Diary of James Gallatin*, son of Albert Gallatin, N.Y., 1914, has some points of interest. *The Memoranda of a Residence at the Court of London*, by Richard Rush, Philadelphia, 1833, is of interest in connection with the origin of the Monroe Doctrine.

9. *Foreign Personal Material.*—The references to American diplomacy in the personal correspondence of foreigners are scattered; they occur naturally in the collections relating to the men concerned in foreign affairs. It is perhaps worth calling attention to the *Dropmore Papers*, British Hist. MSS., Comm. *Report*, 1894, XIV., Part V., ii.

10. *Personal Material in Society Publications.*—In this field of personal collections, as in the case of official documents, the publications of societies cannot be overlooked. One such collection of importance in the study of the causes of the War of 1812 is *The Fur*

Trade in Wisconsin, Wis. Hist. Soc., *Collections*, 1911. The number of societies publishing such material is naturally greater than for the period preceding, for many new states find their earliest, and to many most interesting, history during these years; note particularly Michigan, Alabama, Mississippi, and to some degree Louisiana. See Griffin, Sec. II., para. 4.

11. *Histories, General.*—Of histories, that of W. H. Trescot, *The Diplomatic History of the Administrations of Washington and Adams*, *Boston*, 1858, is good, though much of importance has been brought to light since his day. H. Adams, *History of the United States during the Administrations of Jefferson and Madison*, N.Y., 1889-1891, is largely devoted to diplomacy, and is an historical masterpiece. Nothing comparable exists for the twelve years following, but there are many admirable studies of special subjects.

12. *Special, Organization of Diplomacy.* — On the organization of diplomacy, see E. Schuyler, *American Diplomacy*, N.Y., 1886; G. Hunt, *Department of State*, New Haven, 1914; S. B. Crandall, *Treaties, their Making and Enforcement*, N.Y., 1904; E. S. Corwin, *National Supremacy*, N.Y., 1913; J. W. Foster, *The Practice of Diplomacy*, Boston, 1910; A. Douzat, *Du Rôle des Chambres en Matière de Traités Internationaux.*

13. *Barbary Pirates.*—On the Barbary Pirates, see E. Dupuy, *Américains et Barbaresques*, Paris, 1910; G. W. Allen, *Our Navy and the Barbary Corsairs*, Boston, 1905; Paullin, *Diplomatic Negotiations of American Naval Officers;* and Schuyler, *American Diplomacy* (Sec. II., para. 7, and Sec. III., para. 11).

14. *Fur Trade.*—On the fur trade, see H. M. Chittenden, *The American Fur Trade of the Far West*,

N.Y., 1902, and W. Irving, *Astoria*, Philadelphia, 1836.

15. *Jay Treaty.* — On the Jay Treaty, see E. D. Adams, *The Influence of Grenville on Pitt's Foreign Policy, 1780-1798*, Washington, 1904; E. Randolph, *Vindication of Mr. Randolph's Resignation*, Philadelphia, 1795; M. D. Conway, *Omitted Chapters of History*, N.Y., 1888.

16. *Relations with France.*—On French relations to 1801, see C. D. Hazen, *Contemporary American Opinion of the French Revolution*, Baltimore, 1897; F. J. Turner, *The Origin of Genêt's Projected Attack on Louisiana and the Floridas*, *Am. Hist. Review*, III., 650-671, *The Policy of France towards the Mississippi Valley*, *ibid.*, X., 249-279; T. L. Stoddard, *The French Revolution in San Domingo*, Boston, 1914; J. Monroe, *A View of the Conduct of the Executive in the Foreign Affairs of the United States*, Philadelphia, 1797; A. Cans, *Les Idées de Talleyrand sur la Politique Coloniale de la France au Lendemain de la Révolution*, *Revue d'Histoire Moderne*, 1900, II., 58-63; G. W. Allen, *Our Naval War with France*, Boston, 1909; G. N. Tricoche, *Une Page peu connue de l'Histoire de France, La Guerre Franco-Américaine (1798-1801)*, *Revue Historique*, 1904, LXXXV., 289-299.

17. *Louisiana Purchase.*—On the Louisiana Purchase, see F. A. Ogg, *The Opening of the Mississippi*, N.Y., 1904; D. G. Roloff, *Die Kolonialpolitik Napoleons I.*, Munich, 1899; W. F. McCaleb, *The Aaron Burr Conspiracy*, N.Y., 1903; H. E. Chambers, West Florida, 1898; F. Jackson, *Memoirs of Baron Hyde de Neuville*, St. Louis, 1913.

18. *Spanish Relations.*—On Spanish relations, see C. C. Pinckney, *Thomas Pinckney*, Boston, 1895; F. L.

Riley, *Spanish Policy in Mississippi after the Treaty of San Lorenzo*, Am. Hist. Assoc. *Report*, 1897, 175-192; H. B. Fuller, *The Purchase of Florida*, Cleveland, 1906.

19. *War of 1812.*—On the War of 1812, M. Carey, *The Olive Branch*, Philadelphia, 1815, contains many original documents and statistics; J. A. Thiers, *Histoire du Consulat et de l'Empire*, still has some value. See also C. P. Lucas, *The Canadian War of 1812*, Oxford, 1906. A. T. Mahan is seldom happier than in the last chapter of his *Sea Power in its Relations to the War of 1812*, Boston, 1905, in which he discusses the peace negotiations. J. M. Callahan, *Agreement of 1812, Reduction of Naval Forces upon the American Lakes*, Am. Hist Assoc. *Report*, 1895, 369-392, discusses a most significant point in the after-war settlement.

20. *Monroe Doctrine.*—On the Monroe Doctrine, D. C. Gilman, *James Monroe*, Boston, 1900, gives a good conventional view and a bibliography. Few of the books and articles referred to in it, however, have value except as for opinion at the time of publication, for W. C. Ford in his *John Quincy Adams and the Monroe Doctrine*, *Am. Hist. Review*, VII., 676-696, VIII., 28-52, 1902, brought out many essential documents previously unknown. On Spanish-American antecedents see F. L. Paxson, *The Independence of the South-American Republics*, Philadelphia, 1916; W. S. Robertson, *The Beginnings of Spanish-American Diplomacy*, in *Turner Essays*, N.Y., 1910; and C. J. Stillé, *The Life and Services of Joel R. Poinsett*, Philadelphia, 1888. On Russian relations, see G. Heinz, *Die Beziehungen Zwischen Russland, England und Nordamerika im Jahre 1823*, Berlin, 1911. On English

policy, see M. Burrows, *History of the Foreign Policy of Great Britain*, N.Y., 1895; Viscount Castlereagh, *Memoirs and Correspondence*, London, 1850-1853, VII., 257-456, etc.; J. R. Seeley, *The Expansion of England*, London, 1895; H. W. V. Temperley, *Life of Canning*, London, 1905. For American views, see A. C. Coolidge, *The United States as a World Power*, N.Y., 1908; A. B. Hart, *Monroe Doctrine*, London, 1916; J. A. Kasson, *Evolution of the Constitution . . . and History of the Monroe Doctrine*, Boston, 1904. For German views, see J. H. Kraus, *Monroe-doctrin, in ihren Beziehungen zur Amerikanischen Diplomatie und zum Völkerrecht*, Berlin, 1913.

21. *Lives.*—Lives for this period are not so important as *Letters*, but nearly always one at least exists for any character of reasonable importance.

22. *Articles.*—Articles in academic publications, and even in some of the popular ones, exist without number, many of them contributing new facts, many, indeed, being denied special mention here only with hesitation and because of the limitations of space. This material is made available by the indexes to periodical literature, and the *Bibliography of American Historical Societies* referred to in Sec. II., para. 4.

Archives and Manuscript Material.

See guides mentioned in Sec. II., paras. 13-18. The amount of unused material of this kind is large and its character important.

Section IV.—EXPANSION, 1829 TO 1861

Introduction

The dimensions of the United States were determined partly by geography, partly by established historical conditions, and partly by diplomacy—a broad significance being given to that term. Economic differences and the British Navy prevented the British West Indian colonists from following their neighbours of the continent, and a century of conflict had embittered the Canadians. The treaty of 1783 gave territory to the Great Lakes and the Mississippi, but left Florida with the mouths of the western rivers in the hands of Spain. The frontier of population was half a thousand miles from the frontier of sovereignty, and Indians and discontented settlers were scattered over the interval; whether the Mississippi Valley would belong to the United States, Great Britain, France, or be independent, seemed as late as 1803 undetermined. Treaties with Spain in 1795 and 1819 secured Florida; the Jay Treaty in 1794 and a convention of 1818 stretched a boundary, still capable of differing interpretations, between American and British territory to the Rockies; and the Louisiana Treaty of 1803 put an end for ever to French plans, and flung the boundary to the western limits of the Mississippi Valley. These were largely the profits of neutrality.

Extensive as was this dominion, American states-

men had long realized that it did not constitute a satisfactory whole. They wished to include the nearly unsettled area on the west coast of the Gulf of Mexico, they wished the nearby West Indies, and particularly they desired a frontage on the Pacific. In 1824 the claims of Russia to the latter region were extinguished, but there remained the sovereignty of Spain and Mexico, and the claims and influence of Great Britain. The determining factor in securing these regions was not the diplomat, but the frontiersman. Trained by two centuries of experience, the American knew the art of opening wild territory. The attraction of American conditions drew from Europe the mass of its emigrating population, which lent weight to the drive. Natural advantages, missionary zeal, and patriotism impelled the settler to cross the national boundary. Entering Texas in 1820, they created there in 1836 an independent American republic, which in 1845 was annexed as a state to the old Union In 1842 a long accumulation of disputes with Great Britain was settled by Webster and Ashburton, but controversy blazed forth again over rival claims in the Oregon country. A timely migration of Americans gave the nine points of the law so valuable in diplomacy, and in 1846 the line of 49 degrees, run in 1818 to the Rockies, was extended to Pacific tide water. In the meantime the annexation of Texas had led to difficulties with Mexico, and Americans settled in New Mexico and California called for protection. The result was war which added these territories to the Union in 1848.

This rounded out the territory necessary for national development, and closed the real period of expansion. The insistent demand for more territory to

the South during the fifties became so identified with the slavery movement, that public sentiment turned permanently against it, and all that was ever acquired was Porto Rico in 1898, which came as the result of an *impasse*. The control subsequently extended over the Caribbean region took other forms than that of annexation. The purchase of Alaska in 1867 was an accident, and due to friendship for Russia rather than national desire. The growth across the Pacific resulted from a somewhat different set of causes.

Materials for Study and Reading

Printed Materials

1. *United States Government Documents.*—For the period 1828 to 1861 there is no systematic publication of the diplomatic correspondence of the United States. Much was published on call for information by Senate or House. When such a call was made the correspondence over a large period was submitted and in reasonably complete form. The most convenient listing of this material is in Hart, *Foundations of American Foreign Policy* (Sec. II., para. 7).

2.—For the subject of this section note particularly H. Garnett, *Boundaries of the United States and of the Several States and Territories*, Washington, 1900.

3. *Documents of Other Governments.*—In addition to the documents of other Governments, which are discussed in Sec. ii., para. 4, note the *Diplomatic Correspondence of the Republic of Texas*, Am. Hist. Assoc. *Report*, 1907, Vol. II., 1908, Vol. II.; and *Report and Resolves in Relation to the North-Eastern Boundary*, Massachusetts General Court, *Sen. Doc.*, No. 67, Boston, 1838.

4. *Personal Material.*—The personal material for this period has been less fully published than for those preceding. The most important collections are the following: J. C. Calhoun was during these years Vice-President, Senator, and Secretary of State; his *Works*, N.Y., 1853-1855, and his *Correspondence*, Am. Hist. Assoc. *Report*, 1899, Vol. II., are both important. H. Clay was Senator and party leader; his *Works*, N.Y., 1897, contain important speeches, and his *Private Correspondence*, N.Y., 1857, has some value. Daniel Webster was Senator and twice Secretary of State; the best collections of his works are *Writings and Speeches*, Boston, 1903, and *Letters*, N.Y., 1902. The *Diary* of President J. K. Polk, Chicago, 1910, is a unique and important document. J. Buchanan was Senator, Secretary of State, Minister to England, and President; his *Works*, Philadelphia, 1908-1911, are dull but important. G. Bancroft was member of Polk's cabinet and Minister to England; *Life and Letters*, M. A. D. Howe, N.Y., 1908. The material relating to J. Q. Adams (Sec. II., para. 16) is still important, as he was member of Congress and at times Chairman of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs.

5. *Personal Material in Society Collections.*—The movement of expansion was so much a movement of many relatively unimportant men, that collections relating to such individuals are innumerable and will increase. Many are found in the publications of local societies, whose use is still facilitated by the bibliography mentioned in Sec. II., para. 4. For this period the range of such societies increases with the admission of new states. Note particularly the publications of the state historical societies of Texas, Oregon, Washington, and the University of California.

6. *Histories, General.*—No special history covers the whole of this subject, but see H. W. Caldwell, *American Territorial Development*, Chicago, 1900.

7. *United States and Great Britain: Maine, Oregon.*—On territorial disputes with Great Britain to the North-East, there are E. D. Adams, *Lord Ashburton and the Treaty of Washington, Am. Hist. Review*, XVII., 769-782; W. F. Ganong, *Evolution of the Boundaries of the Province of New Brunswick*, Royal Soc. of Canada, *Trans.*, VII., Sec. II.; J. F. Sprague, *The North-Eastern Boundary Controversy and the Aroostook War*, Dover (Me.) 1910. On those on the North-West, there are H. H. Bancroft, *Oregon*, San Francisco, 1886-1888; E. G. Bourne, *The Legend of Marcus Whitman*, in his *Essays in Historical Criticism*, N.Y., 1901; A. Greenhow, *Memoir, Historical and Political, on the North-West Coast of North America*, Washington, 1840; W. J. Marshall, *Acquisition of Oregon, and the Long-Suppressed Evidence about Marcus Whitman*, Seattle, 1911; Sir T. Twiss, *The Oregon Territory*, N.Y., 1846; and J. Schafer, *Oregon Pioneers and American Diplomacy*, in *Turner Essays*, N.Y., 1910, and *The British Attitude toward the Oregon Question, 1815-1846, Am. Hist. Review*, XVI., 273-294. J. S. Reeves, *American Diplomacy under Tyler and Polk*, Baltimore, 1907, connects the Mexican and Oregon questions, and R. E. Speer, *Missions and Modern History*, N.Y., 1904, suggests an interesting point of view.

8. *Texas and Mexico.*—On the Texan and Mexican questions, which were closely connected but not identical, are the following: E. D. Adams, *British Interests and Activities in Texas, 1838-1846*, Baltimore, 1910; H. E. Bolton, *Texas in the Middle of the*

Eighteenth Century, 1915; G. P. Garrison, *Texas*, Boston, 1903; H. von Holst, *Constitutional and Political History of the United States*, Chicago, 1879-1892, II., 548-714 (a savage attack on American policy); A. Jones, *Memoranda and Official Correspondence relating to the Republic of Texas*, N.Y., 1859; W. Jay, *Review of the Causes and Consequences of the Mexican War*, Boston, 1849 (a well-written political tract); T. M. Marshall, *A History of the Western Boundary of the Louisiana Purchase, 1819-1841*, Berkeley, 1914; C. H. Owen, *The Justice of the Mexican War*, N.Y., 1908 (a legal argument); J. S. Reeves, *American Diplomacy under Tyler and Polk*, Baltimore, 1907; G. L. Rives, *The United States and Mexico, 1821-1848*, N.Y., 1913; J. H. Smith, *The Annexation of Texas*, N.Y., 1911; Sir H. G. Ward, *Travels in Mexico in 1825-1827*, London, 1828.

9. *Caribbean.*—For the diplomacy of the Caribbean, see the bibliography for Cuba, issued by the Library of Congress in 1898, which is one of a series brought out on a rather extensive scale on any such subject that attracts wide popular interest. The following cover most points of importance: E. Ancona, *Historia di Yucatan*, Barcelona, 1889, IV., 15-170; J. M. Callahan, *Cuba and International Relations*, Baltimore, 1899; F. E. Chadwick, *Relations of the United States with Spain—Diplomacy*, N.Y., 1909; S. F. Johnson, *Four Centuries of the Panama Canal*, N.Y., 1906; J. H. Latané, *The Diplomatic Relations of the United States and Spanish America*, Baltimore, 1900; L. M. Keasby, *The Nicaragua Canal and the Monroe Doctrine*, N.Y., 1896; W. O. Scroggs, *Filibusters and Financiers*, N.Y., 1916; L. D. Travis, *History of the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty*, Mich. Pol. Sci. Assoc. *Pub.* III., No. 8; M. W.

Williams, *Anglo-American Diplomacy, 1815-1914*, Washington, 1915.

10. *South America.*—The area to the south of the Caribbean is inadequately treated, but reference may be made to E. Guillemot, *La Politique et l'Avenir de la France dans l'Amérique du Sud*, Paris, 1849; T. J. Page, *La Plata, the Argentine Confederation and Paraguay*, N.Y., 1859; and E. Schuyler, *American Diplomacy*, N.Y., 1886, 265-366.

11. *Slave Trade.*—For arguments with reference to the slave trade, which was so closely connected with expansion during this period, see W. E. B. Du Bois, *Suppression of the African Slave Trade*, N.Y., 1896; E. Schuyler, *American Diplomacy*, Boston, 1886, Chap. V., and the *Life* of Cass referred to in the next paragraph. See also C. G. Alden, *G. H. Perkins*, Boston, 1914, 73-102.

12. *Lives.*—The following *Lives* and personal statements are important: T. H. Benton, *Thirty Years' View (1820-1850)*, N.Y., 1854-1856; C. H. Hunt, *Life of Edward Livingston*, N.Y., 1864; A. C. McLaughlin, *Life of Lewis Cass*, Boston, 1891, based on Cass Papers; E. M. Shepard, *Martin Van Buren*, Boston, 1900; L. G. Tyler, *Letters and Times of the Tylers*, Richmond, 1884-96. This list is by no means intended to be complete, and, as before, much personal material is scattered in periodical and occasional publications. A *Life* of William Marcy is badly needed.

Archives and Manuscript Material.

13. *Spanish Records.*—For manuscript material, whether archive or private, reference is made to the guides mentioned in Sec. II., paras. 13-18, but special attention is called to the fact that the proportion of the

national archive material for this period that is published is less than for those preceding, and attention is called to the Bancroft Library, at the University of California, which is very rich in Spanish records, originals and copies, and in all kinds of private material.

14. *Newspapers.*—In the study of such mass movements of population, and in a period where national policy was so directly controlled by public opinion, the newspapers cannot be neglected. The best newspaper collections are those of the Boston group of libraries, the Public Library, the Athenæum, and the Harvard Library; the American Antiquarian Society's library at Worcester, Mass.; the Congressional Library, at Washington; and the library of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, at Madison. *Niles' Weekly Register*, Baltimore, gives many quotations from the Press of the whole country.

Section V.—CIVIL WAR AND RECONSTRUCTION, 1861 TO 1873

Introduction

The fighting of the Civil War was in part due to the perception of diplomatic factors by the supporters of the Union. A fixed compromise line dividing slave from free territory meant demands for conquest to the South, a divided United States meant a balance of power in America that would soon vibrate to that of Europe, maintenance of the Union meant continued independence for self-development to both American continents.

The temporary division of the United States revealed what its union had prevented. Napoleon III. and Spain at once plunged into campaigns of aggrandisement. Had Great Britain done so, it is hard to see what end there could have been to strife and bitterness, but she, as Bernhardi wrote in 1901, "committed the unpardonable blunder, from her point of view, of not supporting the Southern States." The question of her neutrality, and the influence of her fleet in circumscribing the activity of continental Europe constitute the chief diplomatic interest of the period. British public opinion became a leading factor in American affairs. The seizure of the *Trent* by an American warship brought about a crisis at Christmas, 1861. The situation was more serious in 1862. Articulate English

opinion was mostly pro-Southern, workmen were pro-Northern, and merchants largely for neutrality. Politics delayed action, and when Lincoln in 1863 finally convinced England that the North was fighting slavery, the possibility of interference passed.

The triumph of the Union in 1865 re-established the Monroe Doctrine, Napoleon III.'s empire for Maximilian in Mexico, and Spanish designs against San Domingo and Peru evaporated, and the grand politics of the war were over.

Of almost equal interest, however, was the development of international law. The United States, changed from a neutral to a belligerent enforcing a blockade, saw conditions on the reverse side, and while she did not change her principles, she modified her interpretations, and laid the legal basis upon which the Allied blockade during the Great War was conducted.

Again, the high conception of neutral duties which the United States had always set for herself, she now insisted upon for others. Practically the irritating naval activity of the Confederacy was conducted from Great Britain and was of advantage to the British merchant marine. American protests, of an intensity rising to a threat of war, reinforced by the view of certain British statesmen who saw that her real advantage lay in the acceptance of the American view, caused Great Britain in 1863 to reverse her position. This practically involved confession of error, and, inherently, compensation for the past. The issue, however, was clouded over by many things. A neutral is never popular, and there was deep resentment against Great Britain in both North and South; propinquity always involves problems which with ill-nature become disputes: the fishing controversy

entered a new phase, the Irish Fenians sought to fan the flames and make the United States a base for attack on Great Britain, and Charles Sumner, seeking a solution in the clouds, sent forth only lightning. Fortunately a conflict of cross-purposes left American policy in the hands of Hamilton Fish, a man of sense and information, just when the Gladstone Ministry was disposed and able to make a generous settlement. The result was the Treaty of Washington of 1871, the fifth and most satisfactory general agreement between the United States and Great Britain, and which will be remembered in history as providing for the Geneva Arbitration, the most important case of international dispute up to that time submitted to judicial arbitration.

Materials for Study and Reading

1. *United States Government Documents.*—With 1861 there came a new change in the methods of publishing Government documents. One or more volumes of foreign correspondence began to be published each year, with the report of the Secretary of State. This report is part of the annual report covering all departments of Government which accompanies the President's annual message, and is always *House Executive Document No. 1;* the letters published are, of course, selected. The very elaborate *War of the Rebellion: a Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, Washington, 1880-1902, with the similar record of the navies now in progress, contains incidental diplomatic material. The other publications continue as described, including the occasional more complete collections sent on call of one House or the other.

2. *Confederate and Foreign Government Documents.*

—For the first part of the period the documents of the Confederate Government are essential. These are defective and not all published. The *Journal of the Congress . . .* is published, Washington, 1904-1905. The best collection of documents is J. D. Richardson, *Messages and Papers of the Confederacy*, Nashville, 1905, which includes diplomatic correspondence as well as the messages of President Davis. No foreign Government recognized the Confederacy, and consequently their correspondence with it is not found in the ordinary channels, but was carried on by consuls. M. L. Bonham used this in his *British Consuls in the Confederacy*, Columbia University, "Studies," XLIII., No. 3, 1911, and *French Consuls in the Confederacy*, *ibid.*, No. ? See also *Dispatch from the British Consul at Charleston to Lord John Russell*, *Am. Hist. Review*, XVIII., 783-787.

3. *Personal Material.*—Of private materials the complete *Works* of Abraham Lincoln, edited by his secretaries, J. G. Nicolay and J. Hay, N.Y., 1899, are most important. The *Diary*, Boston, 1911, of Giddeon Welles, Secretary of the Navy 1861 to 1869, is invaluable. The *Works*, Boston, 1875-1883, of Charles Sumner, chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Affairs, 1861 to 1872, are valuable throughout. The *Works*, N.Y., 1853-1884, of W. H. Seward, Secretary of State 1861 to 1869, are disappointing. *The Private and Official Correspondence . . . during the Period of the Civil War*, Boston, 1917, of B. F. Butler, gives interesting material on the relations of military officers and foreign consuls. The *Correspondence* of R. Toombs, A. H. Stephens, and H. Cobb, Am. Hist. Assoc. *Report*, 1911, gives something on Confederate foreign policy. See also *Letters of Richard Cobden to*

Charles Sumner, 1862-1865, Am. Hist. Review, II., 306-319; the *Correspondence* of J. L. Motley, London, 1899; and *J. S. Motley and His Family*, N.Y., 1900; and *Letters of the Duke and Duchess of Argyll to Charles Sumner*, Mass. Hist. Soc. *Proc.*, Oct., Nov., 1914. It is obvious that in spite of some additional scattered collections this period is as yet by no means so richly illustrated as are those preceding it.

4. *Histories, General.* — Of histories, that of J. F. Rhodes, *History of the United States*, N.Y., 1893-1906, covers the whole period, as well as the ten years preceding. While it is general, diplomatic questions receive due treatment. The most important work on the period, however, has been done by C. F. Adams, whose father, of the same name, was Minister to England 1861 to 1868, and member of the Geneva Arbitration, and who had access to the Adams archives as well as the most important private collections in England. His results are embodied in a brief *Life* of his father, *Charles Francis Adams*, Boston, 1900; in *Lee at Appamatox and Other Papers*, N.Y., 1902; *Studies Military and Diplomatic*, Boston, 1911; and in half a dozen articles published from that time to his death, 1918, in the *Proceedings* of the Massachussetts Historical Society. At the time of his death he was engaged in preparing an extensive *Life* of his father, which would have summed up his results. It is to be hoped it will yet appear. J. M. Callahan has written *The Diplomatic History of the Southern Confederacy*, Baltimore, 1901, which contains a discussion of the Confederate archives. J. Davis, *Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government*, N.Y., 1881, discusses Confederate foreign policy.

5. *British Neutrality.* — On the question of British

neutrality policy there are, in addition and among others, C. W. Battine, *The Crisis of the Confederacy*, London, 1905; R. H. Dana, *Trent Affair* in Wheaton's *Elements of International Law*, N.Y., 1886, pp. 644 *ff.*; J. L. Harris, *The Trent Affair*, Indianapolis, 1896. See also E. D. Fite, *Social and Industrial Conditions in the North during the Civil War*, N.Y., 1910, and R. A. Arnold, *History of the Cotton Famine*, London, 1864. See also Sec. V., para. 11, on *Lives* and memoirs. In connection with neutrality in general, see also A. Hépner, *America's aid to Germany in 1870-1871*, St. Louis, 1895.

6. *Blockade.*—On the blockade and the cruisers, see J. D. Bullock, *The Secret Service of the Confederate States in Europe*, N.Y., 1884; J. T. Scharf, *The Confederate Navy*, N.Y., 1887; J. R. Soley, *The Blockade and the Cruisers*, N.Y., 1883; and many picturesque accounts in popular magazines, for which see Poole's *Index of Periodical Literature*, and its continuation in the *Cumulative Index.*

7. *Treaty of Washington and Geneva Arbitration.*—On the settlement of 1871 and the Geneva Arbitration, see J. W. Balch, *The Alabama Arbitration*, Philadelphia, 1900; J. M. Callahan, *Northern Lake Frontier during the Civil War*, Am. Hist. Assoc. *Report*, 1896, II., 335-359; D. H. Chamberlain, *Charles Sumner and the Treaty of Washington*, Cambridge, Mass., 1902; C. Cushing, *The Treaty of Washington*, N.Y., 1873; W. L. Marvin, *The American Merchant Marine*, N.Y., 1902; J. Rutherford, *The Secret History of the Fenian Conspiracy*, London, 1877.

8. *French and Spanish Relations.*—On French and Spanish relations, see J. Bigelow, *France and the Confederate Navy*, London, 1888, and *Retrospections of an*

Active Life, N.Y., 1909-1913 (Bigelow was Consul-General at Paris); C. A. Duniway, *Reasons for the Withdrawal of the French from Mexico*, Am. Hist. Assoc. *Report*, 1902, I., 312-328; H. Léondaron, *L'Espagne et la Question de Mexique, 1861-1862*, *Annals des Sciences Politiques*, XVI., 59-95; J. H. Latané, *Diplomatic Relations of the United States and Spanish America*, 221-265; C. Schurz, *Speeches, Correspondence and Political Papers*, N.Y., 1913, I., 185-205.

9. *American Expansion Movement.*—On the expansion movement in the United States, see H. H. Bancroft, *Alaska*, San Francisco, 1886; A. Golder, *Russian Expansion on the Pacific*, Cleveland, 1914, and *Russian Fleet and the Civil War*, *Am. Hist. Review*, XX., 801-812; T. C. Smith, *Expansion after the Civil War, 1865-1871*, *Pol. Sci. Quar.* XVI., 412-436; J. Parton, *The Danish Islands*, Boston, 1869; O. S. Straus, *The American Spirit*, N.Y., 1913.

10. *Naturalisation.* — On position of naturalised citizens, see F. G. Franklin, *The Legislative History of Naturalisation*, Chicago, 1906; M. A. D. Howe, *The Life and Letters of George Bancroft*, N.Y., 1908; J. G. Wise, *A Treatise on American Citizenship*, Northport, N.Y., 1906.

11. *Lives, American and British.*—The following *Lives* and memoirs, American and English, have value as containing original material: F. Bancroft, *Life of W. H. Seward*, N.Y., 1900; P. Butler, *Judah P. Benjamin* (Benjamin was Secretary of State of the Confederacy), Philadelphia, 1907; Lord E. Fitzmaurice, *The Life of . . . Second Earl of Granville, 1815-1891*, London, 1905; Lord (T. W. L.) Newton, *Lord Lyons* (Lord Lyons was British Minister at Washington),

London, 1913. Of course *Lives* of Bright, Cobden, Gladstone, and of almost every public and many literary men in Great Britain, afford material on the general problem of British policy, 1861 to 1872.

12. *Articles and Collections.*—The number of articles and collections relating to diplomacy in the publications of the various historical bodies and agencies is by no means as imposing for this period as for those preceding. In the great mass of material on the Civil War there is here and there something diplomatically significant, but it is incidental, and its finding a matter of chance or of the most laborious winnowing.

13. *Annual.*—The *American* (known as *Appleton's*) *Annual Cyclopedia*, N.Y., 1863 to 1877, contains annual reviews of diplomatic events from the American point of view.

Section VI.—ISOLATION, 1873 to 1898

Introduction

The period between the Geneva Arbitration and the Spanish War, the period when men of the governing age received their impressions of American diplomacy, saw the policy of isolation triumphant. So complete was it that few American statesmen had the knowledge of European affairs proper for a schoolboy. The great traditions of American diplomatic skill were forgotten, foreign affairs were used chiefly as pawns in domestic politics, absurd cases like that of Behring Sea were made national issues, and good cases injured by ignorant argument and ill-chosen agents. Few cared about foreign affairs, no one worried about them. The feeling against expansion was solid, a genial optimism regarded Europe as decadent, but apt to be saved when it adopted republicanism.

The real interest of the period lay in developments which were to affect the future. The first of these was that the United States began to export competitive products, which demanded the cultivation of foreign markets. This situation Blaine sought to meet by a protective tariff, modified by reciprocity with the other nations of America, and constructive Pan-Americanism; Cleveland by free trade. Few noticed that the disappearance of the American ocean-going merchant marine placed the whole of American commerce at the mercy of other Powers.

Another tendency was the almost unconscious development of relations to the West. One phase was the immigration from China and its prohibition. Another was the simultaneous activity of missionaries and traders. Always in touch with the East, the United States had taken a prominent position by securing the first treaty with Japan. American citizens and agents, few in strange lands, naturally co-operated with the Europeans they found there. As early as 1864 this co-operation received Government endorsement in action closely resembling a Concert of Powers. In 1888 episodes in Samoa involved the United States in dispute and then in complicated joint action with Great Britain and Germany. In 1893, a revolution bursting out in Hawaia without discouragement from United States agents, brought forth a new American republic in mid-ocean, anxious for annexation, but repulsed by Cleveland, who became President just in time to delay it until the next period.

Further, there was evident a rising spirit of insistent nationality, which laid the foundations for a modern navy, recalled reverence for the flag, and insisted that the long-dreamed-of transcontinental canal should not be neutral under joint international guarantees as agreed with Great Britain in 1850, but completely American. This spirit, weakly affecting the minority for many years, was stimulated by the brutal stupidity of Spanish rule in the West Indies, and, purged by humanitarianism, won its majority in 1898.

Materials for Study and Reading

1. *United States Government Documents.*—Two new series of public documents become of interest during this period: the *Consular Reports*, published

monthly since 1880, and containing some documents of diplomatic value, and the *Bulletins* of the Bureau of American Republics, dealing from time to time with most matters of Pan-American interest.

2. *Documents of Other Governments.*—Of privately published collections, that of E. H. Blair and J. A. Robertson, *The Philippine Islands*, Cleveland, 1903 to 1909, contains many documents relating to those islands throughout their history.

3. *Personal Material.*—The personal material for this period is very inadequate; the only collection worthy of the name is that of the *Speeches, Correspondence, and Public Papers* of Carl Schurz, N.Y., 1913, and he was quite a minor figure.

4. *Histories, General.*—No general history deals fully with the diplomacy of the period, the most complete being E. E. Sparks, *National Development, 1877-1885*, N.Y., 1900, and there is no diplomatic history that covers it except the general ones mentioned in Sec. II., para. 7, though J. B. Henderson, *American Diplomatic Questions*, N.Y., 1901, gives good preliminary studies of a number of subjects.

5. *Special Treatments.*—There are, however, many accounts of special topics, which include a large amount of source material.

6. *Commercial Diplomacy.*—On commercial problems, see C. D. Allin and G. M. Jones, *Annexation, Preferential Trade and Reciprocity*, Toronto, 1912; C. Robinson, *A History of Two Reciprocity Treaties*, New Haven, Conn., 1904; F. W. Taussig, *Reciprocity, Quar. Jour. of Economics*, II., 26-39.

7. *Pacific.*—On general relations in the Pacific, see J. M. Callahan, *American Relations in the Pacific and the Far East, 1784-1900*, Johns Hopkins University,

Studies, XIX., Nos. 1-3; A. R. Colquhoun, *The Mastery of the Pacific*, N.Y., 1902; J. W. Foster, *American Diplomacy in the Orient*, Boston, 1903; W. E. Griffis, *America in the East*, N.Y., 1889; A. T. Mahan, *The Problem of Asia and its Effect upon International Politics*, Boston, 1900; F. H. Skrine, *The Expansion of Russia, 1815-1900*, Cambridge, Eng., 1903.

8. *China.*—On China, see M. R. Coolidge, *Chinese Emigration*, N.Y., 1909; G. F. Seward, *Immigration in its Social and Economical Aspects*, N.Y., 1881; F. W. Williams, *Anson Burlingame and the First Chinese Mission to Foreign Powers*, N.Y., 1912.

9. *Japan.*—On Japan, see W. E. Griffis, *Townsend Harris, First American Envoy in Japan*, Boston, 1895; Treat, P. J., *Early Diplomatic Relations between the United States and Japan*, 1853-1865, Baltimore, 1917.

10. *Samoa.*—On Samoa, see R. L. Stevenson, *A Footnote to History: Eight Years of Trouble in Samoa*, N.Y., 1892.

11. *Hawaia.*—On Hawaia, see W. F. Blackman, *The Making of Hawaia*, N.Y., 1899; L. A. Thurston, *A Handbook on the Annexation of Hawaia*, Saint Joseph, Mich., 1897; M. H. Kraut, *Hawaia and a Revolution*, N.Y., 1898; Liliuokalani, *Hawaia's Story by Hawaia's Queen*, Boston, 1898; C. Robinson, *History of Two Reciprocity Treaties*, New Haven, Conn., 1904.

12. *American Problems.* — Turning to American problems, we have in general, J. H. Latané, *Diplomatic Relations of the United States and Spanish America*, Baltimore, 1900; on the Canal, H. Bingham, *The Monroe Doctrine, an Obsolete Shibboleth*, New Haven, Conn., 1913; on Venezuela, G. Cleveland, *Presidential Problems*, N.Y., 1904, and *The Venezuela*

Boundary Controversy, Princeton, 1913 (the President's own explanation of his policy); J. B. Henderson, *American Diplomatic Questions*, N.Y., 1901, 411-443; R. Olney, *International Isolation of the United States*, *Atlantic Monthly*, LXXXI., 577-588 (the Secretary of State's explanation).

13. *Lives.*—Of *Lives* and memoirs the following have some value: H. Croly, *M. A. Hanna*, N.Y., 1912; G. Dewey, *Autobiography*, N.Y. 1913; G. F. Parker, *Recollections of Grover Cleveland*, N.Y., 1909; E. Stanwood, *J. G. Blaine*, Boston, 1905; A. D. White, *Autobiography*, N.Y., 1905; C. R. Williams, *R. B. Hayes*, Boston, 1914.

14. *Periodicals.* — Of periodicals, *The Nation* (weekly), N.Y., *Harper's Weekly*, N.Y., and *The Tribune* (daily), N.Y., contain the most important comment on foreign affairs.

Section VII.—THE SPANISH WAR AND THE FAR EAST, 1898 TO 1914

Introduction

Americans had always regarded the disappearance of Spanish power in America as inevitable, but they had believed it would happen without their intervention. In the late forties and fifties of the nineteenth century the majority had restrained the efforts of the minority to create trouble in the Spanish islands. During the seventies they had remained neutral under great provocation. In 1898 the nuisance became intolerable by continuance. The war began with the limited objective of freeing Cuba; this naturally grew to that of driving Spanish power from America: strategy extended operations to the Philippines, from which no honourable exit appeared.

The war was an expression of growing nationalism, intensified it, and resulted in an extension of national interests. This extension was in two directions. First there was a keener interest in Latin America. This interest again took two forms. First was the renewed attempt to secure Pan-American co-operation. It resulted in a series of conferences, in many mutual agreements, and in increased commercial relationships. Secondly it led to a vigorous insistence on military control over the Caribbean. The key to this renewed interest was the desire to pierce the Isthmus of

Panama. This led first to a renewed attempt to shake off the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty of 1850 with Great Britain. In 1901 a compromise was reached which permitted an American canal. Arrangements with Columbia for construction failed, but in 1903 a revolution resulted in the establishment of the complaisant new republic of Panama on the isthmus. In the meantime the promise of independence to Cuba was honourably kept, but that island was bound to the United States by close ties. President Roosevelt enunciated the doctrine of the "Big Stick," that as the United States would not allow Europe to interfere with petty American states, so it would insist that the latter fulfil their obligations. This policy has resulted in practical protectorates over San Domingo, Hayti, and Nicaragua, and, with the purchase of the Danish islands in 1917, has made the Caribbean almost an American lake.

The acquisition of the Philippines, and the almost simultaneous acquisition of Hawaia, part of Samoa, and of minor islands in the Pacific, led to a departure more radical. The United States arrived in the Orient at a moment when the initiative of Germany seemed about to inaugurate a division of China, comparable to that of Africa, which had just been made almost complete. It seemed that the United States must either become one of the despoilers or see the gate slammed in her face. Secretary Hay resolved instead to arrest the process. His method was to remove the temptation to acquisition by depriving possession of its profits, by the policy of the "Open Door" or equal trading facilities. His method of securing assent was by taking the initiative and by presenting to the various Powers the alternative of accepting or declaring the self-seek-

ing character of their purposes: which latter, since the adoption of conventional morality as a basis for international relationships by the Holy Alliance in 1815, few Powers had been willing to do. The real force of the promises so obtained would depend on future circumstances. The Boxer Rebellion in 1900 imperilled the situation. Again Secretary Hay took the lead, and proposed co-operation based on the preservation of the integrity of China. His proposal was accepted and the United States, more than ever bent on excluding European influence from the Americas, accepted a part in the Concert of Powers in Eastern Asia.

Materials for Study and Reading

1. *Bibliographies.*—On all important topics of this period there exist bibliographies published by the Library of Congress, Washington.

2. *United States Government Documents.*—There is no substantial change in the official method of publishing public documents.

3. The *American Journal of International Law*, N.Y., 1907, in progress, publishes from time to time supplements containing current documents on important topics. It publishes also an annual review of the events of the year in their relation to international law.

4. *Personal Material.*—Of private collections the following are important: T. Roosevelt, *Presidential Addresses and Papers*, N.Y., 1905, and *Addresses and Papers*, N.Y., 1909; E. Root, *Collected Addresses and State Papers*, Cambridge, Mass., 1917, in progress; W. H. Taft, *Presidential Addresses and State Papers*, N.Y., 1910.

5. *Histories, General.*—There are no historical

accounts separately covering the diplomacy of this period as an entity. On special topics note the following:

6. *Special: Spanish War.*—On the Spanish War there are: F. E. Chadwick, *Relations of the United States and Spain*, Vol. I., N.Y., 1909; E. J. Benton, *International Law and Diplomacy of the Spanish-American War*, Baltimore, 1908; H. von Holst, *The Annexation of Our Spanish Conquests*, Chicago, 1908; J. H. Latané, *America as a World Power*, N.Y., 1907; W. Reid, *Problems of Expansion*, N.Y., 1912; A. Viallate, *Les Préliminaires de la Guerre Hispano-Américaine et l'Annexation des Philippines par les Etats-Unis*, *Revue Historique*, LXXXII., 242-291, and *Essais d'Histoire Diplomatique Américaine*, Paris, 1905.

7. *Alaska.*—On the Alaska boundary, see G. Davidson, *The Alaska Boundary*, as well as Alaskan Boundary Tribunal *Proceedings*, Washington, 1906.

8. *Canal and Pan-America.*—On the Canal and Latin America, see A. Aragon, *Republica de Panama y la Diplomacia Contemporanea*, *Revista Positivista*, Mexico, 1905; J. Bigelow, *American Policy*, N.Y., 1915; R. Reyes, *The Two Americas*, N.Y., 1914; W. L. Scruggs, *The Columbian and Venezuelan Republics*, Boston, 1900; A. Viallate, *Essais d'Histoire Diplomatique Américaine*, Paris, 1905; R. G. Usher, *Pan-Americanism*, N.Y., 1915.

9. *Pacific.*—On the Pacific, see, in addition to the reference given in Sec. VI., paras. 6, 8, 9, T. J. Lawrence, *War and Neutrality in the Far East*, London, 1904.

10. *Immigration.*—On immigration, in addition to references in Sec. V., para. 10, and Sec. VII., para. 8, see C. Adler, *Jews in the Diplomatic Correspondence*

of the United States, Am. Jewish Hist. Soc. *Publications*, No. 15.

11. *Mexico.*—On Mexico, see E. E. Robinson and V. J. West, *Foreign Policy of Woodrow Wilson*, N.Y., 1918; also Sec. VII., para. 13.

12. *Lives.* — Of *Lives* and memoirs the most important is W. R. Thayer, *Life and Letters of John Hay*, Boston, 1915. T. Roosevelt, *Theodore Roosevelt*, N.Y., 1910, casts new light on various episodes of his administration. S. M. Cullom, *Fifty Years of Public Service*, Chicago, 1911, reveals the attitude of the Senate on various important questions.

13. *Annuals.—The American Year Book*, N.Y., since 1910, and the *New International Year Book*, N.Y., since 1907, give careful annual reviews of diplomatic events from the American point of view.

Section VIII.—THE GREAT WAR AND INTERNATIONAL CO-OPERATION, 1914 TO 1917

Introduction

The outbreak of the Great War in 1914 came as an overwhelming surprise to the United States. The majority of Americans believed that peace was becoming more firmly established as institutions seemingly democratic spread. They were even yielding somewhat of their separateness to join in international agreements for constructive co-operation and arbitration, though they still retained their aversion to participation in European international politics. Political separation had resulted in ignorance of the political forces involved, while the population, drawn from all the belligerent countries, tended, in the absence of clear understanding, to follow hereditary prejudices and consequently to divide in its sympathies, the majority congratulating itself on the fact that the war did not concern them.

The war was a rapid education. Very quickly the convictions of a great majority were won by the Allies. More slowly did the idea that the United States must be a participant gain ground. In the election of 1916 a majority were still apparently in favour of non-intervention. It was, however, already obvious that if the United States had not intervened in the war, the war had intervened in the United States. This idea was given public expression by President Wilson in a speech

to the Senate on January 22, 1917. He pointed out that world conditions had so altered through the mechanical changes of a century, that the physical division of the world had ceased to be effective. Equally the other presupposition of 1823, that different governmental systems distinguished the continents, had lost its significance in a war where one half of Europe was fighting to protect democracy against the other half which wished to impose autocracy. He declared that actually the United States was so vitally interested in the conflict, that she must demand a place at the Peace Conference, which would deal with questions which could not but affect her whole future. This abandonment of the policy of isolation, which was consecrated by nearly a century of success and approval, did not mean that the aims of that policy had altered. President Wilson and the American people were still determined to defend their democracy, not only in its sovereignty, but in actual independence from the chances of European politics; the problem was to discover a new method now that the old one, isolation, had ceased to be effective. They were as determined as ever not to become parties to the old oscillating balance from which they had at such cost wrenched themselves free. The solution which he advocated was the extension of the principle of confederation which had so effectively kept the states themselves in harmony. He, therefore, advocated a League of Nations, founded on the right of self-determination by all separate peoples, and involving arbitration and enforcement of international order by force.

When, therefore, on January 31st, 1917, Germany took the final step which made the entry of the United States into the war inevitable, the latter was not only

convinced of the justice and necessity of war, but had in mind ultimate purposes which inspired her people to make the sacrifices demanded of them. Never before had any national decision of the United States received so striking demonstration of unanimity in conviction and purpose, as was shown in the months of war from April, 1917, to November, 1918.

Materials for Study and Reading

1. *Bibliographies.*—Bibliographies on the Great War have been published on every plan and scale; all, of course, are purely temporary. Perhaps the most handy are those in the *History Teacher's Magazine*, now known as the *Historical Outlook*, for 1917-1918.

2. *United States Government Documents and Others.*—The documents of the United States relating to the Great War have not been published as a single collection, but probably a greater proportion are available for use more quickly after the event than ever before: as is true of most of the countries involved. Nearly all important United States documents have been published in reliable form immediately upon issuance in the *Times* (New York, daily). The supplements of *The American Journal of International Law* have brought together the most important. *International Conciliation*, issued monthly since 1907 by the Association for International Conciliation, Boston, contains much documentary material. The Division of International Law, of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, of Washington, has published much such material since 1907. First came various studies on the Hague Conferences; in 1916 *Diplomatic Documents Relating to the Outbreak of the European*

War, edited by J. B. Scott; from 1914 a pamphlet series which has brought out collections on various topics and episodes of the war; in 1919 the *Correspondence between the United States and the Imperial German Government*, also edited by J. B. Scott (this last item has not been checked). Nearly all these pamphlets can be secured free upon application.

3. *Committee on Public Information.*—Themselves public documents, but not in the ordinary sense, are the publications of the official Committee on Public Information, at Washington, which has issued all sorts of material relating to the war, some of it of great value to the student, and nearly all interesting to readers. These also are presumably still available for free public distribution.

4.—The most important personal material consists in the works of (Thomas) Woodrow Wilson. For these, see *War Addresses of Woodrow Wilson*, Boston, 1918, and E. E. Robinson and V. J. West, *Foreign Policy of Woodrow Wilson*, N.Y., 1917, Appendix. In addition are the contemporary narratives of the American representatives in Berlin, Brussels, and Constantinople; J. W. Gerard, *My Four Years in Germany*, Philadelphia, 1917; B. Whitlock, *Memories of Belgium under the German Occupation*, 1918; H. Morgenthau, *Secrets of the Bosphorus, Constantinople, 1913-1916*, London, 1918, *Tragedy of Armenia*, London, 1918.

5. *Periodicals.*—In addition to the annuals mentioned in Sec. VII., para. 13, the *Providence Journal* (daily) has a unique value on German activity in the United States. *The Literary Digest* (weekly), N.Y., gives reviews of current public opinion as expressed in the Press, such as earlier appear in *Niles' Register.*

Section IX.—SPECIAL TOPICS

There are numbers of threads that run through American history and that may be lost if too much emphasis be placed on the division into periods.

(A) Relations with Great Britain.—The relations with Great Britain at all times absorbed a great proportion of the time and thought of American diplomats. They arose from territorial propinquity, from British maritime supremacy, from common attempts to exploit the great natural resources of the American Continent such as the fisheries, from the important part that their mutual trade played in the commerce of each nation, and from the mutual sensitiveness arising from a common language. Six times the accumulating and interwoven controversies arising from these contacts produced crises. Twice these resulted in war, four times in agreements preventing war, which in three cases submitted points to arbitration. The treaties and conventions closing these episodes are dated 1783, 1794, 1814-1818, 1842, 1871, and 1899-1914. As the final agreement culminated in an arrangement for general arbitration, which had been preceded by almost a hundred years of peace, there is good ground for believing that the intimacy of relations between the two nations has been definitely shown to be a bond rather than a cause of division.

For an account of Anglo-American diplomacy, 1814 to 1914, see W. A. Dunning, *The British Empire and*

the United States . . ., London, 1914. For an account of the fisheries question see R. McFarland, *A History of the New England Fisheries*, N.Y., 1911; this was a small pin that circumstances constantly twisted, and which has received more historical attention than it deserves. For copyright, see R. R. Bowker, *Copyright History and Its Law*, Boston, 1912.

(B) Territorial Expansion.—A second clue that runs through American diplomacy is that of territorial expansion. In 1898 the earlier phase, when expansion was for the purpose of providing homes for American settlers, merged into that of imperialism, or the extension of influence beyond the area of American settlement.

The bibliography for this subject is sufficiently indicated in the preceding Sections, particularly Sec. IV., but see A. Viallate, *Essais d'Histoire Diplomatique Américaine—Le Dévelopment Territorial des Etats-Unis*, Paris, 1905.

(C) Relations with Latin America.—A third thread is to be found in the character of American relations to the South; first with Spain, and then with the Latin-American states. In fact, still further clarity of view may be obtained by subdividing this field; the area of the Caribbean, where the United States has always had special interest, being separated from the region to the South, where general ideas have controlled policy.

A special study here, in addition to those already mentioned, is C. Ll. Jones, *Caribbean Interests of the United States*, N.Y., 1916.

(D) International Law and Arbitration.—Finally, the general conceptions of Americans with regard to international relationships are worth especial study. The legalistic bent of their minds has been very

marked. They have more than any nation, except perhaps the Dutch, considered that such relationships are subject to law. Even their international policies have taken on this character, and many of their discussions of the Monroe Doctrine have proceeded as carefully from clause to corollary and deduction, as have those on the Constitution. This principle they have been willing to apply to themselves, as is evinced by the constant submission of questions to arbitration.

The number of American treatises on international law is large and their quality high. The works of Henry Wheaton have a place of their own quite apart from their reflections of American sentiment. Two, however, should be mentioned as being built up chiefly from American material, and having a semi-official standing as interpretations of the American attitude on questions of this character: F. Wharton, *Digest of the International Law of the United States . . .* , Washington, 1886, and J. B. Moore, *Digest of International Law as embodied . . . especially in Documents . . . of the United States*, Washington, 1906. On arbitration, a similar work, J. B. Moore, *History and Digest of International Arbitrations*, Washington, 1898, sums up the various cases which the United States had to that date submitted to such decision: these discussions are very complete and often constitute the best history of the whole dispute which preceded submission. On this subject, see also W. H. Taft, *The United States and Peace*, London, 1914, and J. B. Moore, *American Diplomacy*, N.Y., 1905.

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